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INCIDENTS IN THE INCEPTION OF THE OLD CATHOLIC MOVEMENT.

FROM the beginning of December, 1856, to the autumn of 1862 I was resident with my family in the city of Munich, Bavaria, and witnessed some exciting occurrences there, an account of which may be of interest to the readers of Professor Beyschlag's article on "The Old Catholic Movement," pp. 481-526 of this number of the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY. It may have been little known beyond the city of Munich how Dr. Döllinger came to deliver the discourses which began his breach with the papacy.

Munich was doubtless the most conservative of the larger cities of Germany. The people were all Roman Catholics, except one Lutheran church, and it seems to have been the determination of the leaders of society there that the spirit of social progress which was fermenting everywhere else should have no admission into that city. But the

king, Maximilian II, had, in 1853, called Baron von Liebig, then, perhaps, the world's most noted chemist, to the directorship of the laboratory of the Bavarian Royal Academy of Sciences. Liebig's name was such that he ventured to offend Munich's social conservatism by opening in the auditorium of his laboratory a series of popular scientific lectures, which ladies were invited to attend. So fixed, however, was the feeling of the old conservative leaders of society that few of the professors of the university could be persuaded to stem its current by taking places in the lecture courses, and Liebig had at first to deliver most of the lectures himself. But in a few years the effort triumphed, both the Protestant and the more liberal Catholic professors were brought into the service, and in the spring of 1861 leading Catholic ladies felt moved to get up something which, without prejudice to their conservative position, should show that they were not asleep to matters of public interest. They were to have a course of lectures. These were, however, to be distinguished from those started by Liebig in that they were all to be on religious topics. Döllinger was to deliver several of the course; these alone concern my present purpose, and alone will be mentioned.

My family was at the time in Switzerland, and I was taking my dinners at the Hotel zu den vier Jahrzeiten. One day at the usual hour of dinner I noticed that the seats were half vacant, a fact which was soon explained by the rush of the absentees into the hall. They had been to hear Döllinger's first lecture, of which I had failed to see the notice. The talk of those coming in was loud and excited, and the excitement soon spread to those who had not heard the discourse. The chaplain of the British legation sat next to me. He had attended the lecture, and, though he could not understand German, he had caught from the agitation around him the spirit of the occasion. The excitement was such that language was of little account. It spread without the use of words, and that in the dining-hall was but a miniature of what was taking place in the streets, as those who had heard the lecture spoke of its contents to those whom they met. I procured tickets for the course, and the next day such was the crowd gathered in the "Odeon" before twelve o'clock at noon—for that was the hour of the delivery—that the lecturer repeated substantially the preceding lecture.

Soon after the delivery of the lectures I reported to the *Watchman*, of Boston, their substance, and in 1878, I think it was, when Döllinger had just attained to the age of seventy-nine years, I sketched my

impressions of him and of the scene described above for the New York *Independent*. I shall not here treat of the contents of the lectures further than to add that, while there was nothing in the spirit of the lecturer that should have been offensive to the pope, they were free utterances of convictions, and showed no endeavor to slip easily around the difficult questions which had been quietly entertained, but had not yet burst forth into utterance from seats of authority. As chief specimens of these I mention the temporal power of the pope, and Austria's controlling position in the affairs of Italy. The lecturer said that a territorial jurisdiction was not a necessity to the papacy; that it had been disputed during most of the period of its existence, that it had never enjoyed more than two centuries of unquestioned sway, that it was then again in question, and that the papacy would be better off without it. He applied the same principle to the bishops, referring to the times when all the German bishops felt that they must have a territorial jurisdiction, which he declared to have been embarrassing rather than helpful to the discharge of their spiritual functions. In regard to the future of Italy, Dr. Döllinger spoke of five possibilities and did not hesitate to say that the worst of these would be the continuance of Austrian rule there. He spoke freely of the hostile feeling existing between Catholics and Protestants as one which should not be entertained, and acknowledged his own error in this respect.

A noticeable episode of the occasion grew out of the presence of the cardinal nuncio, Prince Chigi. It was said that he did not understand German—his secretary who sat near him doubtless hinted to him what the lecturer was saying—and at least he rose, swung his scarlet robe somewhat spitefully out of the hall, and went, as was said, to the minister of foreign affairs to protest against the permission to deliver lectures of such import.

At the risk of being deemed to have traveled beyond the range of my subject, I bring in here an incident having a feature personal to myself. The lecturer referred to the embarrassment which Christian missions had experienced in countries where polygamy prevailed, and added that the institution of slavery in America was equivalent to polygamy, in that it permitted to slaveholders the control over the persons of their slaves. On this utterance the wife of the British ambassador, who sat facing me on the opposite side of the hall, gave a significant nod to indicate that I might accept that remark as my part of the lecture.

I saw a gentleman in the hall whom I knew to be a courtier and

connected with the palace, and I had scarcely reached the street when I saw him walking with the king, and knew at once that he had been sent to hear the lecture and report its tenor to his majesty. The government did not interfere with the delivery of the lectures. Indeed, the king was known to be not only a liberal-minded, but an honest, religious man, who sometimes sought spiritual counsel from the chief Protestant pastor, to whose church the queen belonged.

Another man in Munich who had been my most frequent visitor during my residence in that city, and who was afterwards intimately associated with Döllinger in his work of reform, calls for some notice here, and the issue of such notice will concur with Dr. Beyschlag's article in its pictures of oppression and chicanery. I refer to Professor Johannes Huber. This young man, at the time about twenty-five years of age, had prepared himself for the Roman Catholic priesthood, and yet did not enter it, for the apparent reason that it was not to his taste, and because he aspired to a career in philosophy. Mr. Huber was one of those strictly honest men who do not readily learn that it is sometimes unsafe to utter one's convictions. He had ventured to criticise some Jesuit production, and had thus made his own position uncomfortable. But his critical articles had attracted attention to him, and led a professor in the university, himself a Roman Catholic, to propose to Huber that he offer himself as a candidate for the degree of doctor of philosophy, which he did, and published as his thesis a volume on John Scotus Erigena. Soon after obtaining his doctorate he published a volume, entitled *Die Philosophie der Kirchenväter*, which subjected him to papal censure. He was summoned to appear before the nuncio in Munich, and came from the interview directly to my house to report the issue, which was that he was required to abjure the offensive passages. He asked to have these passages pointed out to him, so that he might reconsider them, promising to abjure them if, on a careful reconsideration, he should find his views untenable. He was told in reply to his request that he must first submit himself to the holy father and would then be taught. He declared his inability to renounce any views he had expressed until he should have been informed what they were, and should himself have found them untrue. There the matter ended.

Nor do I mention it as a matter to boast of that I contributed essentially, if not chiefly, to Huber's appointment to a professorship in the University of Munich. I had become intimate with Baron v. Liebig, partly through mutual services we had rendered to each other. Espe-

cially on one occasion a public letter was addressed to him by Alderman Mechi, of London, having reference to his great service to organic chemistry as applied to agriculture. He asked me to find him a translator, which, after considerable effort, I failed to bring about to his satisfaction, and offered to do the work myself, which was what he desired. The article, which was of several columns, appeared in the *Times*, and with it a long and highly complimentary editorial. Huber had told me the story of his ill-treatment in the efforts made to secure a place. I repeated the same to Liebig, and was assured in reply that the matter should be looked into and set right, which was done, and Huber soon had a place in the philosophical faculty of the university.

There are other points in relation to Huber which may, to the advantage of American readers, be placed by the side of Dr. Beyschlag's graphic details of hierarchal management. He came once to my house and asked for small contributions from me and other Americans residing near to aid a young man, of whom he told us that he had known him as a younger pupil in a school for the education of boys for the priesthood. This boy had an older brother. The father was a small peasant farmer, and desired that the older son should have the farm, and, in order to bring this about, he and the other son placed the boy in a school to be educated for the priesthood. In such school, and through the whole course preparatory to the priesthood, the education was free. Thus both boys would be provided for. But the little fellow had no desire to be a priest, and ran away. His life was threatened in case he did not remain in the school. On one occasion of flight sickness drove him back to school. Finally, grown up and educated, he fled, determined never to return to the seminary, and came to Munich in quest of employment. It was now that Huber applied to us to aid him. But the young man had little need of aid. Before he had exhausted the few florins secured, he had a place as tutor in the family of a nobleman, and I often afterwards met him walking in the English garden with the two boys of his charge. I do not know just how common such instances are, but suppose that, with perhaps less violence, they are of very frequent occurrence.

But another class of cases, slightly different, are of almost unlimited frequency. I refer to orphan, foundling, and illegitimate boys. If these are of Catholic parentage they can be made almost sure to the ranks of the priesthood. There are none to reclaim them, and if they are of the order of mind to be used in this way, they can be educated so strictly to their duties as never to think of any other way

of earning a living. The chances of their running away are small. This is almost inconceivable in our country, where the choice of a profession is perhaps nearly as free among Roman Catholics as among Protestants. How large a force this makes possible in Catholic countries may be judged by considering the relative numbers of illegitimate births in Munich and Vienna. And in case of these, and also of legitimate births in mixed marriages, there is a race between the clergy of the confessions as to which shall be first on hand to secure an infant accession to their flock, and as determined at the font the child is likely to remain for life.

Professor Huber's antecedents, as briefly sketched above, made him an easy convert to the first movement in the direction of Old Catholicism. As to his relations to Döllinger it will be somewhat decisive to observe that, when the work which Dr. Beyschlag calls *Janus* appeared, I observed afloat two opinions as to who the unnamed author might be. One of these made him Döllinger, the other Huber, and I wrote to Huber to know the truth. His reply was: "Döllinger wrote the larger, I the smaller portion, and I edited the whole." I understood at the time, but do not remember just what my authority was, that Döllinger was the nominal head of the movement in Munich, Huber the popular leader of the assemblies.

What work Mr. Huber ever did in the way of literature besides that mentioned above I do not know in full. He wrote a history of the Jesuits, which I have read, and Döllinger is understood to have pronounced it the best ever written of that order. He became somewhat known on this side of the Atlantic, and was called upon to contribute to our periodical literature, of which I only know this that he sent an article to Barnes' *International Review*, with his direction that I be employed in its translation. Soon after this he died, still a young man, so far as I can recollect, of about forty-three years.

That Döllinger, as Dr. Beyschlag represents, had for some time been descending from his ultramontane views is clear, and I pretend not to know whether he would have brought out so boldly his modified views but for the circumstances which drew out the lectures in 1861. It is not important. But such was the occasion of their first bold public utterance.

The cardinal, Prince Chigi, at the time papal nuncio at Munich, has been referred to, and at this distance of time, with none of the parties living, I deem it not out of place to mention another fact told me by Baron v. Liebig as well understood. When he arrived at Munich

as the accredited representative of the papacy, his household goods and stores, as always in case of ambassadors, were entered duty free. But among his stores there was wine to such amount that the duty on it would have amounted to 6,000 florins. This, of course, was not for domestic use, but was put into the market and sold, and the Bavarian exchequer was cheated out of 6,000 florins.

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NOTE ON THE CANONICITY OF THE APOCALYPSE OF JOHN.

It is a well-known fact that in the second and third centuries of our era, before the necessity of a strict canon had been felt, the apocalypse of John found general, although by no means universal, acceptance in the churches of the East and West; in the fourth century, however, doubts of its acceptability were wider spread. The quarrel between the Montanists and Orthodox church tended to cast suspicion on the book in the minds of the enemies of Montanism, and the influence of the followers of Caius in the Orient was not inconsiderable. We know that the Syrian church was in doubt about 340 A. D.,¹ and the council of Laodicea in 363 A. D. failed to name the Apocalypse in the canon. The third council of Carthage, however, in 397 A. D. maintained the faith that the African church had always held by affirming the book's canonicity. Of the Christian writers of this century belonging to the church in Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine, Eusebius left the question undecided (*H. E.*, III, 24, 18), while Cyril of Jerusalem, Chrysostom, and Gregorius Nazianzenus omitted it from their lists.² Epiphanius, bishop of Constantia in Cyprus, on the other hand, includes it, as well as the books of Wisdom (*Her.*, 76, ed. Dindorf, III, 396).

In the light of these facts, a passage in the Homilies of St. Jerome, recently published for the first time in the *Anecdota Maredsolana*,³ Vol. III, Pt. II, by Dom Morin, the learned presbyter of the Benedictine order at Maredsous, becomes especially interesting. Jerome is speaking in Bethlehem to a body of monks, at some point in the period 401-10 A. D., and in his discourse on Psalm 1 (p. 5, 20 ff., Morin)

¹ Cf. ZAHN, *Forschungen*, I, pp. 72 f.; II, pp. 281-6.

² The latter closes his list (MIGNE, *Patrol. Græca*, XXVII, 472 ff.) with the seven catholic epistles: 'Ιούδα δ' ἐστὶν ἐβδόμη. Πάσας ἔχεις "Εἰ τις δὲ τούτων ἔκτος, οὐκ ἐν γνησίαις.

³ Cf. this Journal, Vol. II, p. 420.